

# PEACE NEWS

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## Russia's new interest in our Alliance

**I** HAD better confess it immediately. I am profoundly sceptical of the recent Russian move in regard to the British-Russian alliance.

Fifteen months ago Mr. Bevin made a public and forthright offer to extend the alliance from 20 to 50 years.

### COMMENTARY

by

John Middleton Murry

There was no response at all from Russia: not even, as far as I know, the courtesy of a bare acknowledgment.

Mr Bevin's offer was made at a time when it was believed in Britain and America that it was mainly Russia's fear of a re-emergence of aggressive militarism in Germany that was dictating her refusal to co-operate in carrying out the positive and beneficial parts of the Potsdam agreement. It was parallel with Mr. Byrnes' offer of a twenty-five year agreement between the Big Three to enforce German disarmament, which was similarly ignored by Russia.

Russia preferred to go her own way, alone. And no honest observer could say that it ever looked, after the war, as though Russia attached the faintest importance to her alliance with Britain. Neither did Britain. In fact, the alliance was tacitly regarded on both sides as being what in reality it was: an improvisation to meet the exigencies of war. Mr. Churchill, its author, was openly engaged in advocating a close British-American defensive alliance against Russia.

### D-Day a la Russe

**T**O indicate the real condition of British-Russian relations there is the deadlock over Poland, where Russia has in an elaborate document refused to co-operate with Britain and America in requiring that the Polish government shall implement the unequivocal terms of the Yalta agreement for "free elections" in Poland. There is the still more decisive rupture expressed in the economic amalgamation of the British and American zones in Germany.

Perhaps even more eloquent is a passage from the speech made by the head of "the propaganda and agitation department of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist party" at the Lenin memorial meeting in Moscow on Jan. 21—a speech made in the presence of Stalin and Molotov.

"It is known . . . that Britain and USA launched military operations on the greatest scale only after invading Europe in June, 1944, after the opening of the second front in Europe—that is, when it had become clear that the Soviet Army, without the allies' help, was capable of occupying the whole of Germany with its own forces and of liberating the peoples of Europe from the German-Fascist yoke."

The implication is clear. America and Britain invaded Europe only to prevent Russia from occupying—or "liberating"—the whole of it. That is the official doctrine of Russia.

### Pravda's belated protest

**W**HY then does Russia suddenly, in appearance anyhow, get all hot and bothered about the British-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

"Its rulers have neither shame nor conscience"

# EGYPT'S NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

## "SHOE-SHINE, Captain?"

How often do you hear these words when you walk through the towns and villages of Egypt? You lose count of the occasions when you are accosted by these persistent youngsters and the variety of goods and services offered, bananas and oranges, peanuts and chocolate, cigarettes and leather-goods, photographs and dirty post-cards, guides to show you the town and the brothels.

To the tourist in peace-time it is just another feature of the mysterious and colourful East—but to the student of social conditions who looks a little deeper it is a challenge that cannot be ignored.

The war has brought hundreds of thousands of British Service men and women to Egypt and those who could not help being drawn into everyday life there have found a fascinating and interesting occupation in exploring its land and people.

Now that the war is over and we have more leisure on our hands the "Mystery" of the East begins to emerge out of the artificial fog and certain facts stand out crystal-clear.

Perhaps the people at home have more than enough to worry about without losing sleep over far-away countries—but we have had to pay dearly for that attitude before and we can only ignore the grave problems of the Middle East at our own peril.

Egypt is the backbone of the Arab League—that new desert Empire linked by common interests on many questions—acting as one at the UNO conferences, on the Palestine problem, the Russo-Iranian difficulties and various other matters of political and economic importance.

What does Egypt want—what is its political and financial position, internally and in relation to other countries, and what can or ought to be done to solve the ever increasing difficulties?

This nation of 18 million starving, illiterate people, governed by an oppressive minority of fabulously rich exploiters of the very worst type this nation which needs nothing more than internal reform, stirred up by half-educated and irresponsible students, demands the incorporation of the peaceful and happy Sudan, of the former Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland, parts of Lybia, the payment of a large sum of reparations by Germany, the departure of all British

—by—

KENNETH FARNHAM

troops and the liquidation of England's sterling-debt.

The fact that Egypt did not declare war on Germany until the very last moment, when it did so only in order to be allowed to join the United Nations Organisation, the fact that only British tanks surrounding King Farouk's Abdin Palace in Cairo prevented him from deserting to the Germans, the fact that his troops did not even defend the country against external aggression—these things matter little to the Cairo nationalists, whose hatred of Europeans is only surpassed by contempt for their own poor countrymen.

The sheer impertinence of these high-ups leaves one speechless—as does the dreadful condition of 95 per cent. of the people. How dare they ask to extend their sovereignty when they have proved conclusively their incapacity and unwillingness to grant a minimum of decent living-conditions to the unhappy Egyptians inside the borders of this land?

It is said that the internal condition of another country is no one else's business—and nowhere can that argument be heard more often than in the Debating-chamber of Egypt's Parliament where these self-styled representatives of the people continue their successful struggle against reform and democracy.

One of the features of this country is the magnificence of its prison-

buildings which are only excelled by the King's palaces and the Mosques where a weary people is doped by slavish Sheiks, and where, under the cloak of a great religion, poverty is proclaimed as the one and only life. Here indeed "Religion is opium for the people" and offers the only escape from lifelong slavery.

Ask the man in the street whether he wants the British troops to leave and he will tell you that without them life would be unbearable. The troops have brought a certain amount of prosperity—their cheerfulness and natural kindness especially to the children have made them very popular and their presence is at least some safeguard against worse oppression—if such is possible.

Without the enterprise and self-sacrifice of the many foreign minorities in Egypt, without the comparative cleanness of administration and business-methods practiced by non-Arabs—Egypt would be a worse cess-pool than it is, for its native rulers have neither shame nor conscience and are capable of anything.

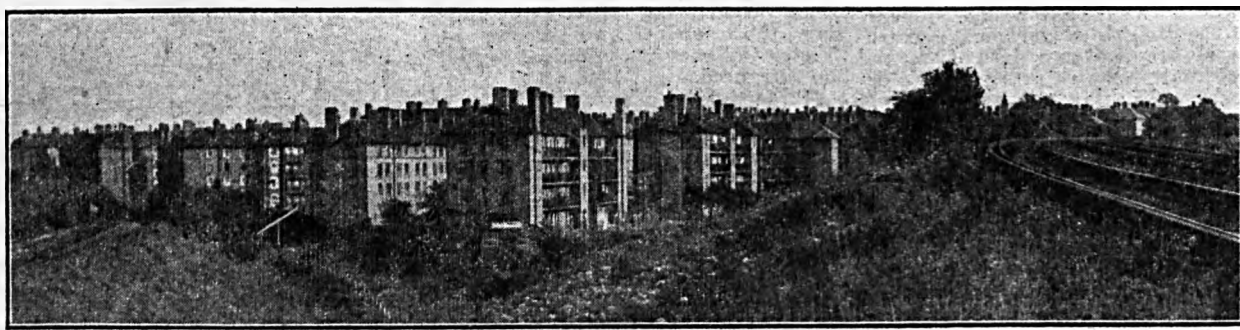
A King who hires out his soldiers at £80 a year to private people, a Government that allows begging to be organised like a trade with children hired out to master-beggars by poverty-stricken parents at 5s. a month, an aristocracy that refuses to pay taxes but insists on the poor landless farmer paying roof-tax on his mud—or petrol-tin-hut—a Parliament that refuses to introduce compulsory education—those are some of the highlights of this slave-state.

Egypt has progressed little since its slaves built the Pyramids some four-and-a-half thousand years ago—it is a black spot on the face of the earth and it is to be hoped that no British Government will ever make the slightest concession to the Egyptian Government until one can be certain that the people of Egypt have a say in their country's affairs and will reap the benefit of Government policy.

British and Allied blood have saved the slavers of Cairo from Nazi occupation. By refusing concessions which would enhance their prestige and strengthen their hands (as handing over the Sudan would have done) Mr. Bevin has done a great service to the people of Egypt as well as the Sudanese.

## TENEMENT TOWN

This is the Housing Estate which has been the scene of a Pacifist Service Unit's activities, described in "Amenities and Communities" on page three.



**T**HE General Secretary of the PPU, acting on the instructions of the Immediate Issues Committee, has addressed a letter to the Colonial Secretary, urging the withdrawal of British troops from Palestine.

After assuring him of the "very real sympathy" we feel with him in his tremendous task, and our readiness to help in any way possible, Stuart Morris declares:

"I have also been asked to lay before you our very strong belief that the policy of reprisals in Palestine cannot possibly do other than aggravate an already dangerous situation. We believe that the history of reprisals goes to show beyond any doubt that they do not have the effect of stopping acts of violence. The most they do is drive the terrorists to more underhand methods, or create increased reprisals. However strongly acts of

## THE PPU AND PALESTINE

terrorism are to be condemned (and none would condemn them more than we do), I feel that there was a lot to be said for the remark which a very prominent Jew made to me the other day: 'However much I deplore and detest the acts of terrorism, they do spring from a sense of frustration.'

"We would suggest that all methods of reprisal such as are now being contemplated should be abandoned, and that no further floggings or similar acts of punishment should be allowed.

"If it seems humanly impossible to expect British soldiers to stand the full force of acts of terrorism without reprisals, we would suggest that that is another reason for the withdrawal of British troops. . .

The fact that it is known that we have other interests of a strategic and a political kind to maintain in Palestine is in itself a stumbling-block in the way of a peaceful solution, and perhaps only the announcement of the withdrawal of British troops by a given date would create the conditions under which Jews and Arabs might find the way to live together in harmony."

Replying to this letter, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Creech Jones, writes:

"I need only say that the vast majority of the ordinary inhabitants of Palestine, both Arab and Jewish, detest terrorism as much as we do, and look to us to provide conditions in which they can pursue their daily lives in peace and security. So long as His Majesty's Government are responsible for the administration of Palestine it is our primary object to establish and maintain these conditions."



# PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

## ABDICATION

THE United States of Europe campaign initiated by Mr. Churchill has, rightly or wrongly, stirred in many minds the same misgivings as would a League for Human Rights sponsored by Bilbo, or a Temperance Crusade by the late Al Capone.

Whatever the motives behind it, however, it does demonstrate how astonishingly the ideal of absolute national sovereignty has lost its hold on even the most conservative minds. Little as he may realise, or welcome, the fact, Mr. Churchill's latest move symptomises the same thing as the rise of the Iron Guard in Rumania and the Communist Party in France: the religion of Nationalism is on the wane.

That we can only welcome. But it would certainly be sad if, just as Europe grows painfully out of this cult, the colonial world should give it a new lease of life—like

One that feeds  
On abjects, oughts and imitations  
Which, out of use and staled by other men,  
Begin his fashion.

Yet that is what sometimes looks like happening. However sympathetic we may be towards those who have really borne the white man's burden, we should do well to eye more critically than Leftists always do the régimes promoted in the Succession States of the Empire.

There is good reason why the slogan "Sudan for the Sudanese," for example, should rally 500,000 members to the Umma Party within a year (despite the echo of "Caesar and Cleopatra"); but there is no reason why it should set our own hearts beating faster. Rather the contrary. We have heard similar watchwords in Europe, and the result has not always been encouraging.

That is why we welcome so heartily the British Government's reception of the Burmese delegation, and its statesmanlike response to their demands. Nothing can so effectively prevent the peoples of the East becoming a prey to militaristic nationalism as the timely abdication of our rulers. If it is not already too late, we may hope that this example of voluntary withdrawal—almost unprecedented since the time of Akhenaten—will strengthen those in Holland and France who honour their countries for magnanimity rather than power.

We hope also that the success of one such abdication will encourage the Government to withdraw its armies from other territories where they are unwanted, as soon as it decently can: from Palestine in particular, where an army to keep the oil to keep an army is hardly a justifiable commitment.

Whatever the immediate effect on the colonies themselves, British abdication can only benefit the British. For to release subject-peoples is to release our own people, as well: not only from the physical and moral burden of conscription, but from the corrupting influence of power. A steady current of devotion, too long diverted to the administration of Empire, will be made available at last for the rebuilding of Britain and Europe.

An unfortunate misprint in our last leading article resulted in our speaking of the material benefits the imagination of the Jews "has conferred, or might confer, on the natives" of Palestine. We meant their immigration: there is no reason at all for supposing that these benefits are imaginary.

# Is It "Baruch Or Nothing"?

## II. THE DEFECTS OF THE PLAN

by

A. J. MUSTE

THERE is, in my opinion, a basic defect in the content of the Baruch plan.

Recent arguments anent the plan have centred on the US demand that the veto on automatic punishment of any nation which is charged by the International Atomic Development Authority with violation of the prohibition against manufacture of atomic weapons be abolished. Russian representatives have argued for a retention of the Big Power veto at that point.

We are convinced that absolute national sovereignty—and the veto as an expression thereof—must be abandoned if there is to be genuine peace. The Baruch plan, however, does not really meet the difficulty. Mr. Baruch has recently affirmed again that "the willful breach" of the ADA's orders, "means punishment and, if necessary, war." Both UN forces and those of "peace-loving" nations are to move "at once, without debate," against the "aggressor."

This is plainly a repetition of the hoary error that peace can be kept through the collective waging of war by sovereignties against sovereignties. The Founding Fathers of this nation warned that punishment of governments or peoples, as distinct from individuals, "is subversive of the order and ends of civil polity by substituting violence in place of law, or the destructive coercion of the sword in place of the mild and salutary coercion of the magistracy." (The Federalist No. 15.) In another chapter in The Federalist (No. 28) the

authors point out that under a system where armed force is used against "collective bodies . . . every breach of the laws must involve a state of war."

Recent discussions of the Baruch plan seem to indicate that the Russian government fears that with the removal of the veto on automatic punitive action the plan really provides for "ganging up" of the so-called democratic nations for war against Russia and for labelling such a war as a holy struggle for the maintenance of world-order. It seems to us that this criticism cannot be summarily dismissed as groundless, but rather deserves careful re-examination.

The Russian government's motives in these discussions may not be entirely above suspicion but we surmise that certain elements in the United States which not long ago vigorously asserted the necessity and soundness of the Big Power veto and are now equally insistent on its abolition from the ADA might not be taking this position if the United States were likely to be outvoted consistently in the UN Security Council gatherings. Note in this connection the remark of Walter Lippmann quoted a little further on.

In any case, war between Russia and the West, under whatever pretexts or slogans it might be waged, would be an unspeakable calamity. Any plan which envisages recourse to such war, even as a last resort, is seriously defective and it would be a fatal error for the United States to base its foreign policy on a virtual ultimatum demanding acceptance of

this plan. Certainly pacifists cannot consistently support a so-called "disarmament" plan which has at its very heart the reliance on war and the threat of war to preserve or achieve peace.

A second serious defect in the Baruch approach is that it attempts to deal with the problem of atomic weapons in isolation from the problem of war itself. True, the hope is held out that if we can control atomic weapons, then we can go on presently to general disarmament and the eventual abolition of war itself.

But the U.S. administration has been insisting that the Baruch plan comes first. It is the test case. If in this restricted field and by the means set forth in the Baruch plan we can control armament, then we can safely venture toward reduction of armament at other points; but otherwise absolutely not.

The Russians, if we understand their position, argue that the problem of atomic weapons cannot be successfully dealt with apart from the problem of general disarmament and war itself. We are not interested in arguing that the Russians may not in their turn be stalling when they make this point. Whether they are or not, the point is well taken. We cannot believe that any political or military leaders of whatever nation really think that if war occurs, nations will not resort to any weapons, atomic or other, which they deem necessary in order to ward off defeat and national extinction. Experience has amply demonstrated that the "outlawing" of a particular type of weapon, even if it is generally adhered to, does not materially ameliorate the basic difficulty, the insecurity of all men in a world of armed, sovereign states.

## LETTERS

### Children from Europe

DURING the last six months I have been able to observe the effect of bringing children here from Europe for eight weeks. These children came from Holland, France and Czechoslovakia and had all been the victims of occupation.

Readers of Peace News will be glad to help this work—now being slowed up for lack of funds—by coming to a concert at the Albert Hall on Friday next, February 14, when my Committee is hoping to get enough money to enable more children to be brought over. Pouishnoff and the London International Orchestra are supplying the musical programme and Victor Gollancz has promised to speak on our need.

Please do your best to enjoy yourself on our behalf and persuade others to do the same. There are a few two-guinea tickets which we want to sell in order to defray the cost of the Hall. Do let me hear from you in any case.

JOHN BARCLAY.

Reception Committee,  
Young People from Occupied Countries,  
29 Portman Square, London, W.1.

### The Last Coping Stone

WITH the passing of a conscription measure by a Labour Government the last coping stones are laid and the way tight-walled to National Socialism. The Alexanders, the Daltons, the Citrines have had their way with the once-inspiring Labour Party; while the Hardies, the Mansburys, the Maxtons, the builders of the Party are dead and forgotten.

The present generation of young people are to the shame of their parents—denied access to the spirit of the past, are betrayed into slavery in the present, and can have no social hope in the future. Their very qualities operate to their own undoing. Desirous of pleasing older people who have powers of bestowing favours and promotion, the best of them concentrate on material advancement and success. This struggle, the antithesis of co-operation for the general good, allows the unchallenged retention by older people of all public and political control.

Safety is now the all-absorbing consideration. Gregarious, as nations unite, governments cling to power and seek to maintain the sta-

tus quo. And the young, mistakenly respecting their elders and quiescently taking instructions from them, deny their own innate urge to unbounded adventure and universal co-operation, until in some the spirit dies, to survive in others only as a morally-crippled patriotism.

This is the real evil of conscription, in that second only to war itself and arising from the fear of war, it integrates nations and disintegrates the life of the world. Freed from this fear, even the architects of conscription, men once responsive to the call of brotherhood, would again promote life instead of death, liberty instead of slavery, adventure instead of security. Conscription must be resisted wherever resistance can be aroused, true. But efforts in resistance of conscription must not divert us from the more necessary efforts to outlaw war itself. For until the world is rid of war mankind can never be free, and success in resistance to tyranny will be local, partial and transitory.

B. W. SIDWELL.

114 Regent Street,  
Nelson, Lancs.

### Thank you

RECENTLY you were good enough to afford me space to appeal for clothing to be sent to relieve suffering in Europe this winter. May I now express very sincere thanks to all those who responded?

The quantity of clothes received has been very considerable, and every article sent will bring some degree of comfort for those who are in such great need.

W. J. TAYLOR.  
Political Secretary.

Common Wealth,  
44 Bloomsbury St.,  
London, W.C.1.

### The value of Insulin

IN the interests of truth I should be glad to learn how A. J. Turnbull reconciles his statement, in your current issue, that the diabetes mortality rate has doubled in England since the discovery of insulin in 1922 with that by Dr. Harvey Graham on page four of the current Radio Times that thirty years ago diabetes was invariably fatal, whereas today there are thousands and thousands of diabetics doing every day jobs with only the occasional inconvenience of

an injection of insulin. He adds "It is probable that they (i.e., Banting and Best) and the men who worked with them have already saved over a million lives."

While this does not disprove Mr. Turnbull's statement it certainly conflicts with the inference which he intends his readers to draw from it, viz., that the effects of insulin are other than beneficial. May not the true explanation be that the incidence of diabetes has increased in this country or that it is more often correctly diagnosed?

In all propaganda, let us avoid weakening a good case by failure to check our facts, the use of half-truths or misleading suggestions.

C. R. GRIMWADE.

Middleton,  
King's Lynn.

### THE WAY TO WARMTH

DURING the recent cold some of our readers, like ourselves, may have felt they were experiencing something of the elementary struggle for existence—just an inkling of what for millions of our fellow men has become a grim battle against hunger, cold and death. Indeed even the elementary will to live has for many of them already ceased. "No wonder that so many people have made an end of life including many of our own friends—the temptation to do so has been very great," writes a German correspondent.

This intense suffering from the great hunger in the great cold has for so long been without a parallel at least in our part of the globe that such ills seem to have been banished for ever. They are a strange commentary on an age and civilisation that has discovered the secret of abundance and of unprecedented warmth through splitting the nucleus of the atom!

Professor Einstein wrote down the basic formula which gave the world this dread or beneficent secret. Now he has set himself at the head of an Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists to collect one million dollars.

Their purpose is "to tell the world that people must live together peaceably or die. That there is no hope at last but in a warless world," and the Professor adds that the real problem is in the minds and hearts of men.

Our own fancy has never soared to one million dollars; but week by week we have begged for contributions to our Fund humbly devoted to the same purpose and by the same methods as that of our collaborator the great scientist—a warless world.

MAUD ROWNTREE.  
CORDER CATCHPOOL.  
Joint Treasurers.

Contributions to Headquarters Fund since Jan. 24: £20 6s. 6d. Year's total to date: £49 12s. 1d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.



## AMENITIES AND COMMUNITIES

(The first of a series of articles from a correspondent reporting on pacifist ventures in the field of Social Service).

**T**HE influence of physical conditions on the quality of community life is widely enough understood to be treated as a commonplace.

Material amenities, which nineteenth century industrialists thought of as the reward for virtue are now known to impact on the character of a people in subtle ways which are fully intelligible only to the trained sociologist. Some minimum neces-



"Estates . . . lacking essential provisions."

sities for healthy life are built into plans for the future, but the inevitable lag between idea and realisation resulted in many estates put up during the inter-war years lacking essential provisions for hot water and storage, pram-sheds and luggage-lifts, drying rooms, telephones (not to mention garages) and community centre facilities.

In the older housing districts these things were not even an idle dream but there the pub and the fish and chip shop, the local cinema and dance hall, together contributed opportunities for association which were eliminated from the rehousing schemes—or included in a modified and unacceptable form. Stories of families wanting to return to their slums are too numerous to need special emphasis. The provision of alternative facilities for community association became one of the

most urgent problems of the practical planner.

Now realisation spreads that material facilities for association are not alone sufficient to guarantee healthy and co-operative community. The well spaced, carefully planned villa estates of the Scandinavian countries and New Zealand ensure that different communities develop there, but not necessarily more co-operative ones. And the Manchester Council of Social Services have just published a report on work since 1928 which draws attention not only to the inadequate premises (buildings) hampering effective working but to the inadequate premises (assumptions) on which work was based.

The vital connection between the "Psychological" pattern of the life of a people and their will to peace is now generally accepted in quarters where previously the responsibility was assigned to political factors beyond the control of the common man. Rhythm of belief and social hope can no more easily be changed by the cold douche of repeated political speeches alone than the hardiest plant can be sustained by the water-can—and nothing else. The infinite subtleties of social influences call for an approach which is at once more sensitive and more thoroughgoing. The work of the Peckham groups in South East London, in Coventry, in Oxford and in other centres throughout the country is an important experiment which cannot be ignored.

Equally revolutionary, and also at reporting stage, is the work of PSU, of which The Times leader said on Oct. 15, 1946:

" . . . the direct methods of rehabilitation by example and inspiration practised during the war by the Pacifist Service Units in three large towns are strongly commended as a promising new line of attack."

### Importance of personal element

Varying between a new rehousing estate and unplanned congested industrial areas, the PSUs have demonstrated the importance of the personal element in the building of a healthy community association.

In Tenement Town\*, for instance, the PSU group has struggled for the provision of the necessary buildings and open spaces to make the work of the community association possible, but it has also worked to create a nucleus of responsible people on which the future of the community can be vested. The absence of this nucleus of responsible leaders is what is bemoaned so frequently elsewhere. And therefore the work of the Tenement

Town group, extending from Junior Club, with football, table tennis, dramatics and other activities, to a Free Church (no provision was made for religion on the estate) is of added importance.

The PSU group has lived among the people for whom it is working. It has lived with the people, at or below their economic level, sharing the shame of their initial apathy, accepting a large part in wartime ARP arrangements, emphasising the need for altruistic pride in local conditions out of which stem family understanding, educational ambition, neighbourly sympathy and cultural sensitivity.



"Community association . . . the most urgent problem."

Some of the more material problems of Tenement Town were solved by the bombing of blocks into which pramsheds and additional shops can be built. Some have been solved by an administrative authority which has responded courageously and sensibly to the criticisms of the community association. The more elusive psychological problems remain and so the work of the group goes on.

And who can deny that this is vital work, this smoothing of the rough edges of neighbourly relations, this increase of the sturdy independence of families so that they may come together in uninhibited association for the improvement of the quality of community association? Such free and co-operative societies are essential to the survival of democracy in this country. They are also vital to the peace of the world.

\*Tenement Town—L. E. White—now in cloth, 4s. 6d. Jason Press.

## Off to Germany

On the eve of his departure for Germany as a P.N. special correspondent, GERD TREUHART, outlines his purpose in going.

**O**N the eve of my departure for a two weeks' visit to Germany, from where I will write a series of articles, I would like to express a few of the thoughts which inspired me to ask several British and American editors to give their assistance to my journey.

The last time I turned my back on the borders of Germany, a grey-headed German policeman, wearing a swastika badge on his cap, said to me in a friendly but firm voice . . . "Take my advice, never set foot on German soil again." . . . That was six weeks after my release from Buchenwald in 1939.

Seven years have passed. World history has undergone the most brutal and barbarous evolution which human nature has ever witnessed. Strategically, the Third Reich has disappeared from the geographical map of Europe; and from a military point of view, democracy with its principles of liberty and freedom has achieved complete victory over tyranny, oppression and persecution. As a representative of those victorious principles I am setting foot on German soil again. Shouldn't I be proud that the side on which I fought destroyed the Nazi terror, and that the warning of the man with the swastika badge has been defied? Now, I am able to see the ruins of the "Thousand years' Reich."

If I were militaristically-minded and took the trouble once more to glance at the German map of 1939, which indicates the Siegfried Line or the Fortresses on the Baltic, I should explain either to my English speaking readers or to a German audience: "You see allied power has ended dreams of a world conquest."

### No feelings of revenge

But I have no feelings of hatred or revenge against a nation, or people, whose rules put me in concentration camps; forced me to leave the country, and helped to cause the death of my mother. None of these thoughts have inspired my journey of investigation into Germany. Perhaps even on the contrary—our failure to transform military victory into human peace; to transform our theoretical principles of freedom and liberty, for which millions of soldiers gave their lives, into practice; and the realisation that Germany's present state is the most unhealthy factor inside our political and economic reconstruction process towards world peace, are the major reasons for my German journey.

I have travelled throughout Germany between the two world wars; her language is my mother tongue. I have also gained a certain knowledge of the British public's opinion towards the German question, and I want to find out if Germany is really starving, and why.

"Has the German mind transformed itself from a destructive outlook towards a constructive one?" "Are the psychological roots of Nazism really destroyed and if so, by what are they replaced?" "Is an occupation army in Germany a necessity for the establishment of a European peace, or is it an obstruction to international understanding?" "What is the real game of German party politics?" "Is there a danger of a new Hitler?" "Have the German masses learned the consequences of their political tragedy?" "Does the German believe in the work of UNO." These are the major questions, which I will try to answer from inside Germany.

At the same time, I will investigate the psychological, political and economic mistakes of the allied powers, which have been committed since the day when the terms of an "Unconditional Surrender" were signed.

## CONSCRIPTION AND THE CHILD

**W**E are sometimes told that, in the intolerable insecurity of our day, it is impossible to plan very far ahead, and that we have to enjoy life while we have the chance.

I do not want to analyse the somewhat dubious ethics of that line of thought, since a young person, facing the interminable squabbles of UNO and other international bodies, may feel that sheer enjoyment of what is left to be enjoyed is the only sane philosophy. But there are some people who are unable to turn away from the future in this fashion, since their interests are in the future. These people are parents of young boys.

My son is now aged three. His term of military service, if he is ever to carry it out, is therefore a good many years away. But the question which I have to face now, and in the years immediately ahead, is what he is to be told about militarism, and how he is to be taught to face the problems which high-well universal conscription will bring.

Like many parents I hope that he will prove worthy of the best educational resources of a modern community. The time is now approach-

by  
**JOHN ROWLAND**

ing when he will go to school, later, I hope, he will qualify for a university education. At every turn he will meet other boys, the vast majority of whom will come from homes where the dogmas of militarism will be accepted unquestioningly.

I can remember from my own schooldays one boy who was rather looked at askance, because his father had spent some time in prison during the 1914-1918 war, as a conscientious objector. And I feel (though, as far as I know, no leading psychologist has investigated the question) that it is bad for a child to be marked out as in any occult way different from his comrades. Therefore there is a certain psychological danger in filling my son's mind with my own view, not only of the inherent wickedness of war, but of the fact that those who acquiesce in preparation for war are directly causing another war to be more likely.

Yet I should like to think that in a future war my boy would be a conscientious objector. I know that individual conscientious objection will be little use in an atomic war; but if enough individuals take this stand

there is some chance of influencing governments.

As Vera Brittain recently pointed out, thousands of us voted for this government in 1945 because we thought that it held out some chance of breaking the iron chain of militarism which then appeared to be settling down on the world. I wonder how many would have done so if election addresses of Labour candidates had stated that military conscription was to be adopted, together with industrial conscription for those whose conscience revolted against being trained to kill? And yet it appears tolerably certain that the Conservatives, had they been returned to power, would have been even more eager to destroy democratic rights, and force youngsters without votes to be made to fight.

This is a genuine modern dilemma which must face many pacifist parents, and I think that it is something which should be discussed. Are we going to train our children to be pacifists, with the aim of creating a vast band of CO's in the next generation, even though this may entail a certain amount of psychological difficulty at school, or are we going to acquiesce while, through the medium of cadet corps, OTC, and all the rest, they learn how to play their part in the military machine?



# RUSSIAN SOLDIERS IN GERMANY

IT is more than 700 years now since the English started on their path towards democracy. They have achieved much, and so has the other branch of the Anglo-Saxons, the Americans, at least as far as public life goes.

But even in England and the USA democracy is far from being perfect. Race discrimination against the negroes is still strong, in the USA as well as South Africa. In the economic life, autocracy still prevails, no control by the workers over those who have the command has been established as yet. But at least in public life democracy is paramount.

Have we the right to expect the Russians to be at the same level? Till 1861 the vast majority of the Russians were little better than slaves. Till the revolution they had no political rights, no education. Since then, it is true, tremendous efforts have been made to catch up with those nations that had been more fortunate in their history. But the time has been short.

## Primitive education

Real education in the Soviet Union did not begin till 1923—after the end of the civil war. But the general lack of teachers has meant that even this education has been very primitive. Besides, there are some 120 languages spoken in the Soviet Union. School books, etc., had to be written before they could be given to the schools. So, when the new interruption of peaceful and useful work came again, with the German invasion of Russia in 1941, not more than a certain external education had been achieved.

School education is not all, as we know. The atmosphere in the home of the child, the influence of parents, ranks first. Who were the parents of the Soviet soldiers who are now occupying Germany? Many of them, the Kiguis, Calnucks, etc., were simply savages. Can we expect their children to be perfect, civilised gentlemen?

Are all the soldiers of other, more advanced nations, gentlemen? It is sufficient to put the question. They are not.

So I, for one, was not surprised that Russian soldiers, when they had conquered Germany, let themselves be carried away by their passions to

commit many outrages. I should have been surprised had they not.

Imagine what they had to go through. After seven years of war and civil war they had to toil for another 20 years to create an industry in Russia. When, finally, they had reached a point when they could begin to work for a higher standard of life, then suddenly they had to defend their country against a most terrible invasion, and much of what they had created had to be destroyed by themselves, or was destroyed by a ruthless enemy. I can understand that they got angry.

## Great provocation

But there is more: they had to fight their way from Stalingrad to the German frontier, passing day after day through their home country, seeing villages in ruins, bridges, which they had built with their sweat and blood, blown up, coal mines full of water, etc. And then, when reaching finally the German border, one of the first things they found was the famous concentration camp at Auschwitz, where some hundreds of thousands of their comrades had been gassed or slaughtered.

Can you imagine what the feelings of these men must have been, brutalized as all soldiers must be at the end of a war, and more than others through what they had seen?

Their rage rose because those damned Germans did not surrender, and so forced them to go on fighting and fighting, losing blood always, at a time when the continuance of resistance was sheer madness.

So it was that ugly things happened. Russian soldiers have committed cruelties against Germans, especially German women. Most of these German women who were violated in those days were absolutely innocent, were victims of Hitler, of the war. The Russian soldiers did

by R. ROLM

This article, from the pen of a Berliner, is sent through the medium of the War Resisters' International.

not consider that. Primitive men never do. And they are primitive men. They have never been given a real education, which is not their fault. When you say to a primitive man: "But that woman that is at your mercy now is wholly innocent!"—he will answer: "And what of it? Was not my mother, my sister, who were killed by the Germans, innocent as well?"

We say that this answer is not convincing. Of course it is not. But it is the way most people react when they are ill-treated. There are some who will say, "No. Now that I have had to suffer from cruelty, I see what it means and I will never be cruel myself." But you will admit that even among people with a far higher education than those Russians ever had, very few would adopt such a noble attitude. I have even known Christian clergymen, who read the Bible every day, but, when the hour came, they did not rise to such a moral height but reacted in the old way, blow for blow.

## Unscathed

Remember: such Russians are like children. As such they ought to be treated. The worst of all is to show fear. I know a lady, living in her house with her 20-years-old daughter and no man near, who managed to get herself and her daughter through that terrible time unscathed, when night after night the air was filled with the shrieking of women in the neighbourhood. Always when a group of 10 or 20 Russians entered the house, she would speak to them in her quiet and firm way, asking them: "What can I do for you? Do you

want to hear some music?" Russians generally are very fond of music. They would all sit down and listen. So the two women got along fairly well, unscathed, and little was stolen, while in other houses . . . !

Russian commanders, at that time, did their best to keep their men in order, but it was too great a task. It took them weeks to recover real command. Now all is relatively quiet. Sometimes outrages will happen, but not more than with other occupation powers. The profession of a soldier is not the best to make men soft and considerate.

There is another aspect of the question. We know that in times of peace a young lieutenant is able to obtain authority over his men, because they are recruits, younger even than himself. But in time of war, when perhaps the officer is 19 and his recruits 40, it is not so easy. Here we have the same case. The Russian soldier, of course, feels that German civilisation, its external culture at least, is superior to his own. He enters a fairly well-situated worker's home and will think he is a capitalist, because in Russia workmen's houses would be much more primitive. Yet he is the superior, the soldier of the occupation power, and the German with a much higher education, has to obey. Much tact and goodwill from both sides is required, here also, and not always is it forthcoming.

Remember what has happened in all wars, with the mobilisation of millions of men. The little man, who has been an underling or a clerk in some railway station, went to obey, to look up to his superiors, is suddenly raised to be a superior himself, to have command, perhaps, of men who before would not deign to look at him. Very often this little man will become a tyrant, trying to hide his own inferiority under a mask of rude haughtiness. And his character is in danger of being spoiled.

This is what happens with the Russian soldier. While Germans are suffering physically, it is the morale of the Russian soldiers which is in danger. Heaven knows which is worse. It would have been much better for them both, had the Russians remained in Russia, doing the constructive work of building a strong cultural and economic life in that vast territory of theirs, and the Germans doing their work in their country. It was Hitler's fault that this could not be. But even he himself probably did not know that the heaviest blow he struck against Russia was not against its economic life, but against the morale of Russia's men.

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# THE HUMAN TOUCH

by MOLLIE COLLINSON

ON reading the article "I Am a Prisoner" written by Bettine Rankin, I was touched by her kindly desire to change the look on the prisoner's face. Having had a similar experience I felt prompted to write.

Three years ago an Italian prisoner came to work on our farm. In years he was a youth, but one who had known great anguish of spirit. This had implanted roots of bitterness in his soul to such an extent that his face wore a hard, embittered expression.

Like Bettine Rankin "I longed to change that look on the prisoner's face," but I felt somewhat at a loss how to set about it for he spoke but few words of broken English. The Bible lying near, I picked it up one day and said, "Leno, what is this?" He said "Bible, Father, God." I said, "God does love the Italians," and he emphatically said "Yes." I then said, "He loves the English too." After a little hesitation he finally said "Yes." Then said I: "If that be so, God loves the Italians and He loves the English. You and I must be as brother and sister," and with that, the barrier fell down.

## LEARNING ENGLISH

He was intelligent and expressed the desire to learn the English language and lots of fun we had at the end of the day's work sorting out words and making up sentences. He soon became (but for spells of homesickness, for he loved his family very dearly) a happy, kind, considerate youth. Like most English boys, he enjoyed a joke and loved a cigarette, with the exception of home made ones. This brings a little incident to mind.

He went to camp once a month to have his store of cigarettes replenished. The morning after one of his monthly visits I noticed him making himself a cigarette. Asking him if he had not got his usual supply from camp he said, "Yes, but my camp is

now a German camp. Coming from the Italian office yesterday, I saw a lot of young Germans. One looked at me and he put up his fingers to his mouth and blew as if to ask me for a smoke, so I threw my parcel of cigarettes over the wall to him." I remarked he was kind and I was glad he tried to make one German boy happy.

## IN LIBYA

He went on to tell me when he was taken prisoner in Libya he was put on the train with other prisoners, as the train was standing at one of the stations. A sentry stood beside the window of the carriage he was in. "I was very, very unhappy," and he pulled a long face, trying to show me the depth of his misery. "When I looked up I noticed a poor old Arab watching me. Seeing I was unhappy he came and, with the pretence of speaking to the sentry, he put his hands behind his back and gave to me a box of cigarettes." "Yesterday," he said, "when I saw that young German boy without a smoke I remembered that kind old Arab."

Truly said the poet: "One touch of kindness makes the whole world kin." Leno finally went home and many are the letters I have received from his mother and family, often asking me to visit them in Italy. He himself ended one letter thus:

"For you I shall always keep a very tender memory, for it was you who educated my soul when it had become cruel and bitter through all the sufferings, injustices and wrongs of war. For this I do pray God to answer your prayers and may He always keep you happy."

Your Italian Son, Leno."

Living on an isolated farm, my efforts for peace are very humble, but at least it does make me glad when I remember, "I changed that look on the Prisoner's face."

MOLLIE COLLINSON.

(It is still possible to invite prisoners to English houses, and we would continue to urge readers to do what they can by this means to mitigate the lot of these men, and thereby, perhaps, encourage some of them to return to their own country as ambassadors of peace. —Ed.)

## Ten Years Ago

Peace News, Feb. 6, 1937

As I see it, the Spanish situation presents two questions to the pacifist: First, are your methods capable of preventing these class military uprisings? Second, if not, are they capable of combating them with a reasonable hope of success?

—Wilfred Wellock.

A resolution was brought before the Church Assembly this week which recognised "the right of the Government to the support of Christian citizens in maintaining such forces as it deems necessary in the pursuance of its declared policy" to use armed force only for the defence of the country and in the interests of international security and peace.

Manoeuvres, in which the three Services were on operation, were reported from Singapore, Feb. 1.

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# THE DANGERS OF IDEALISM

February 7, 1947, PEACE NEWS-5

**I**DEALISM is one of those words which, in this country at any rate, has achieved an almost sacrosanct immunity from criticism. It is generally assumed that this quality is invariably a good thing; one of those top-dressings on the animal-man which distinguish him from the beasts. The idealist may be a fool in his neighbour's eyes, but he is rarely a rogue.

There are nevertheless some very real dangers in our loose acceptance of this term. A recent writer in these columns pleaded for a re-examination of the definitions of our Western code of civilisation: as for instance, "democracy," "freedom" and "peace."

## Changed ideals

Far from being a "top-dressing," our ideals are a projection of the whole state of man, and a reflection of his condition both as an individual and in society. As our civilisation—or, at least, our *modus vivendi*—has developed into a highly complex and closely welded industrial organism, so have our ideals changed their character. These essentially private images have been assembled and marshalled, along with our other faculties, into impersonal instruments of state policy, quite divorced from their human origin. Idealism has degenerated into ideology, a vast smoke-screen blotting out our perceptions and distorting our responses. Individual delusion, when it severs contact with reality, leads to the madhouse; national delusion, to war.

The German prison-governor in F. L. Green's penetrating book, "A Flask for the Journey," tries to demonstrate that it was the deep-seated idealism of his countrymen which led them into war; and not merely the spurious doctrines of Nazism, but also the universally accepted ideals of such teachers as Goethe and Schiller who

## MARGARET TIMS

have influenced the whole of Western thought. This is by way of explanation rather than excuse; but it is undeniable that we all participate in similar nationalist illusions.

"Good" and "bad" ideals may therefore be equally delusive, if they are pursued without reference to the prevailing human situation. The spectre of Fascism has been laid and Democracy is said to be established in Europe; but it is stark humanity that rises up to haunt us.

We need not deplore the loss of faith in ideals, if this acts as a salutary clearing of the air. There is some ground for hope in their comparative unreality. What is important is the substitution we make; if we fail to make one at all we reap nihilism and a new vicious circle of perverted ideology.

At the present time the popular bias has swung against Communism. But no "isms" are absolute or final. Does not a Jew eat?—and a German starve?—and a Russian sometimes sing? It is reasonable to assume that State railways are delayed (as in Britain) whilst Communist engineers bicker with their wives; and that even collective farmers can dally over a favourite prize sow.

Mercifully, we are still illogical and wayward; individual idiosyncrasy continues to rear its head in the most unpromising places. Personality is our last defence against the machine, but to be effective we must clear our own vision, not only of extraneous ideologies but also of false personal idealisms.

In Britain we may have comparative freedom from the former, but individually we are still paying for the Victorians. V. S. Pritchett, in "The Living Novel," speaks of the "tedious

and delusive idealism" of Scott—spokesman for a generation. "One grows up in the daydream that Scott has generated to discover it is a swindle; and one never forgives him." Misplaced romantic idealism has probably been responsible for more matrimonial catastrophes than any amount of good old-fashioned sin. Sins at least were recognisable and could be forgiven; thwarted idealism vitiates a whole relationship.

Now we have succeeded in stripping the red flannel from the table legs, only to bedaub them with a new and fantastic symbolism; we still cannot look at the plain unvarnished wood. The returning soldier's reception is symptomatic of our attitude. A misfit in any rational society, of less consequence than even the arms he carries, he limps home to the cold comfort of a prefabricated toleration. How totally inadequate to his needs as a human being! Indifference is no substitute for emotion, however wrongly directed that may be.

## Jumping the here-and-now

Macbeth, contemplating murder and fearful of the consequences of his action, would "jump the life to come." Many idealistic pacifists, contemplating their navels and fearful of the consequences of their non action, would jump the here-and-now. Appalled at the discrepancy between perfection and reality, they can see no adequate course of action. The world is too much with us, but we cannot escape involvement.

You cannot talk ideals to the atomic bomb; they have already become its ally. Such is the logic of our fantastic world. The only possible answer is through a deeper and more penetrating realism, neither ideological nor cynical, which can accept the essential truths about life as demonstrated by nature's fundamental laws; and remain to marvel at them.

## Clifford Curzon interprets the "Brainowner"

"THE food of love" would hardly describe the music of "L. van Beethoven, Brainowner" (as he once styled himself on receiving a card from his brother on which, after the name, the title "Landowner" appeared).

The idea prevailing through the Beethoven concert at the Cambridge Theatre on Feb. 2, was that of the Hero, the Master of Fate—that pagan German obsession which later appears in Wagner's music, Hitler, etc. Here it was exemplified in the Coriolan overture and the Eroica Symphony which was originally dedicated to Napoleon.

But the graceful 4th Piano Concerto is in the realm of pure as opposed to programme music. Clifford Curzon played the solo with delicacy and verve. Though occasionally failing the composer in Sturm und Drang, he brought a captivating neatness and regard for nuance to the rather intense slow movement where the piano, with sweet eloquent speeches, cajoles the orchestra out of a gruff mood before leading the movement to a questioning close.

The Eroica Symphony is in E flat, a confident key. The New London Orchestra played the long funeral march well, but was a little perfunctory in its treatment of the first movement's fine melodies and exalted optimism. However, in the tremendous finale, which has a square-cut theme on which variations are based, it did justice to the brilliant succession of beautiful moments.

## MORE C.O. RELEASE DATES

Group 46 of conditionally-registered C.O.s has now been released by the Ministry of Labour, and the following are approximate dates for future groups of men with Tribunal conditions:

Group 47, March 29; Group 48, April 30; Group 49, May 28; and Group 50, July 11.  
Release of women in group 56 who have been conditionally registered is expected about March 28.

## NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR PEACE NEWS

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## U.S. Amnesty Board to "Classify" C.O.s

New York, Jan. 28.

by ALBON MAN

Secretary, Committee for Amnesty

**A** DEPUTATION from the US Committee for Amnesty saw Justice Roberts, Chairman of the new Amnesty Board, recently, and learned that the Board plans to hold informal hearings in Washington in mid-February, to guide it in its deliberations.

About fifty spokesmen of groups interested in amnesty will be invited to testify. These will include opponents of amnesty like Hershey, head of the Selective Service System, as well as representatives of religious, labour, and other sympathetic organisations.

The Board seems to be thinking in terms of setting up certain categories (Jehovah's witnesses, religious C.O.s, political objectors, Negro objectors to

Army discrimination, and Puerto Rican nationalists) and "classifying" all Selective Service violators whom it considers sincere who come within these classes. Presumably an amnesty would first be granted to these men individually.

The Amnesty Committee, however, will argue at the hearings for an amnesty for all Selective Service violators. The Government object to including so-called "draft dodgers," who did not claim grounds of conscience in refusing Service. The answer to this is that where chances of error are so great in deciding who is "genuine,"

it would be better to free men who may have been guilty of moral turpitude by a general amnesty than to risk holding a single principled man in prison.

In a recent Gallup Poll this question was put:

"Do you think C.O.s should now be let out of prison?"

The results were:

Yes	69%
No	23%
No opinion	8%

The report commented:

"Veterans show more reluctance to have the C.O.s released than the rest of the voting population but even so six out of every 10 World War II veterans say the C.O.s should be let out of jail now . . ."

—Courtesy CBCO.

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### MEETINGS, &c.

**BRISTOL**. (Quakers Friars), Sat., Feb. 15, 3 p.m. Spkr.: Michael Tippett. All welcome. Western Area Rally.

**KINGSWAY HALL**, W.C.2. Lunch-hour meeting, Wed., Feb. 12, 1.15. "Germany, Europe and the Peace." Sir Harold Butler. Admission free. Programme of series National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

**LONDON**, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh Gardens. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. Feb. 9: "India—An Anarchist Viewpoint." David Pinto. Feb. 16: "Drama as a Social Force." Geoffrey Pittcock-Buss. London Anarchist Group.

**MANCHESTER**. Friends Meeting House, Mount St., Wed., Feb. 12, 7.15 p.m. Future of Pacifist Service in Manchester. Special General Meeting. All pacifists invited. Manchester and Dist. Pacifist Service Unit.

### ACCOMMODATION

**PPU MEMBER** requires bed-sitting room. Norman B. Troy, The Samaritan Hospital, N.W.1.



# Can Russia and the West tolerate each other?

Russian alliance? It is worth while to recall the Russian procedure, which is characteristic of her curious technique. On Dec. 22 in a wireless speech, Mr. Bevin, obviously trying to defend himself from the charge brought by the Crossmanites that Britain was tied to America, said that "Britain does not tie herself to anybody . . . except in regard to her obligations under the Charter." Three weeks later Pravda published an article deducing from this that Britain no longer held herself bound by the British Russian alliance.

Why the three weeks delay? Had some laborious mole in the Kremlin taken all that time to find the Machiavellian implication in Mr. Bevin's rather breezy words? I simply don't believe it. Neither do I believe that Russia cares a hoot about the Russo-British alliance: which merely binds the two countries for twenty years to act together against German aggression, which no one in his senses now fears.

## "As across a vast"

WHAT then caused Russia to make the fuss? I have not much doubt, personally, though it is only a conjecture which I cannot prove. There was an important change of Secretaries of State in America. Mr. Byrnes, who had shed all his illusions about the possibility of practical co-operation with Russia and with whom, on this basis of common and hard-won experience, Mr. Bevin was acting in close accord and personal understanding, suddenly and unexpectedly made way for General Marshall. And there was an incipient rebellion in the ranks of the Labour Party—to which Mr. Bevin's speech of Dec. 22 was a reply—against the tie-up of Britain and America.

This Russia really does fear—and fears it the more because the Russian leaders are quite incapable of understanding its nature. It is based on a community of political institutions, of language, of culture, of practical philosophy; it is the natural gravitation of two free societies—however imperfect—towards one another in a world wherein the issue is rapidly

## COMMENTARY CONTINUED

coming to be that of the free society against totalitarianism.

Russia will never see the issue in those terms—that is the peril and the tragedy of our times—because she is unconscious of the preciousness of the free society (even if it is a capitalist one) to those who are members of one, and equally unconscious of the horror her own totalitarianism inspires in them.

Russia, on the one hand, and Britain and America, on the other, "shake hands"—if ever they do shake hands—"as across a vast": a moral abyss, across which mutual understanding is incredibly difficult. The more therefore does Russia dread the inevitable coming together of Britain and America.

## Russia's real object

WHY not use Bevin's speech and the Labour rebellion against Bevin's policy to force him and Britain at least into negotiations for a closer alliance between Britain and Russia which will make relations more difficult between Britain and America—and Bevin and Marshall in particular? It is generally called an attempt "to drive a wedge." That I believe to be the real object of the queer Russian manoeuvre. And it has, superficially, succeeded in part. Because of the Labour rebels, Bevin has been jockeyed into the position that he has to profess that he is greatly disturbed that the Russians should think that he does not attach the utmost importance to the British-Russian alliance: which is certainly a very diplomatic version of the truth.

But like most of the achievements of Russian diplomacy this success is very superficial. To have any substance it demands that Stalin's offer to extend the alliance, provided it is freed from "the reservations" which limit it, should have behind it a real willingness to come to a firm and trustworthy agreement with both Britain and America about the many causes of open friction.

There is no more magic in the word "alliance" than there is in the word "disarmament." These words mean absolutely nothing in the world as it is today: and the only thing that will give them any meaning is the emergence of some genuine trust between Russia on the one hand and Britain and America on the other.

## The road to perdition

HOW that is to emerge, I confess, I have no idea. I think it would be the most marvellous thing if it could emerge; but I am perfectly certain that one way of preventing it from emerging is to humbug ourselves that the Russians are really very nice people and that all we have to do is to trust them. That is the all-too-familiar road to perdition. It will only make the catastrophe far more horrible when it comes. And "getting tough" with Russia is no solution either. Perhaps there really is no solution. But the only way to discover whether there may be one is to be fearlessly honest about the true situation.

Russia and the two Anglo-Saxon democracies embody world-philosophies, or religions, which are absolutely antithetical to one another. To imagine that the conflict between them is simply one between Capitalism and Socialism is childish nonsense. Britain and Russia are absolutely opposed to one another on the very meaning of the blessed word "Socialism." The few key-words they use in common—like "Democracy" and "Fascism"—have absolutely different meanings.

The root of the opposition lies in the Marx-Leninist philosophy, which is a far more radical challenge to the philosophy of the free society than we can easily conceive. And such is the condition of men's minds today in the free societies that a philosophic or religious opposition seems an academic affair, hardly worth worrying about. The simple solution is for the opposed philosophies or religions to tolerate one another.

## The new certitude

BUT—shall I ever be able to drive this home to my readers?—that

simple and natural solution is simple and natural only within the free society. To a philosophy and religion radically opposed to the free society it is utter nonsense. The only reason why opposed philosophies and religions can dwell together in harmony in the free society is that their disciples do not take them seriously, says the Marx-Leninist. And there is a real element of truth in this. For a member of the free society no philosophical or religious truth is so certainly true that a man can be deprived of his life, or his person, for not believing it.

But Marx-Leninism, for those who believe in it, is the one and the only truth, so certain and of such overwhelming importance, that those who do not believe in it do not deserve to live. It is a far more formidable successor to the Catholic faith of the Middle Ages, in rebellion against which the free societies had their origin. And that phenomenon is so strange to us that, when we are confronted with it, we declare, as the visitor did when he saw the hippopotamus that "there ain't such an animal." But, alas, there is: and it is, by far, the most dangerous animal in the world today, precisely because so many people cannot believe that it exists.

## Conflict of faiths

TO imagine that this animal can be tamed by the sweet reasonableness which flourishes in the free society is just fantasy. Those who entertain the illusion merely show that their minds have never entertained the thought that the free society, and its habits of mind and behaviour, may be merely temporary social phenomena and that a society may arise which repudiates it root and branch—a totally new society based on a proselytizing and persecuting religion for which the fundamental postulates of the free society—the necessity of freedom of thought and expression—are at once nonsense and anathema: scientifically monstrous and morally perverse.

We see the totalitarian society of Communism as a regrettable but temporary aberration from the norm, which is of course the free society.

But the Communists see us, with a conviction far more determined than ours, as obsolete and vicious survivals of a horrible past from which Man has to be "liberated" by any and every means. The Communists believe in their creed, with an austere and passionate fanaticism unknown in the Western world for at least four centuries. The question I ask myself is: Do the free societies believe in theirs?

## CONFECTIONERY FOR EUROPE

"SAVE EUROPE NOW" announce an addition to their scheme for sending food parcels. As an alternative to the more comprehensive food parcels (which, of course, may still be sent) just chocolate and sweets can now be sent to Germany and Austria solely for the relief of children. In Germany these supplies will go into a pool from which school meals are provided. In Austria they will be used by the Ministry of Social Welfare for Relief in schools, children's homes, etc.

Many people who cannot spare a gift of rationed food will be glad to send a few bars of chocolate or a few ounces of sweets for these children. If they wish to send a parcel they should send a 1/6d postal order and a stamped envelope addressed to themselves to Save Europe Now, 14, Henrietta Street, W.C.2., marking their applications with a large capital "S". In return they will receive a printed label and full instructions.

Churches, schools and universities may send collections through in crates, cases or sacks to Save Europe Now, c/o. Colledonian Wharfage Company, Pottery Street, S.E.16, but no other food may be sent in this way.

Donors may care to enclose in their parcels a stamped postcard addressed to themselves for acknowledgment from SEN, for the sweets and chocolate sent in this way will be distributed in bulk and no individual acknowledgment from Germany or Austria will be possible.

## Defenders of Freedom

To the Editor

THE Freedom Defence Committee was founded in 1945 to deal with cases of the infringement of the civil liberties of any citizens within the British Empire, and since its foundation has intervened successfully in a considerable number of cases, which have been duly reported in its Bulletin.

The impression that the need for such a committee has ceased with the advent of peace is an illusion: on the contrary, new cases are brought to our attention almost daily. But this impression has been responsible for a crippling decrease in our resources, and unless immediate support is forthcoming, we must close down. At the end of 1946 we had a deficit of about £50.

We need an immediate sum of £250 if we are to maintain an office and a typist-organiser, and in order to carry on efficiently we need a regular income of at least £500 per annum. This sum is ridiculously small in relation to the value of the work we are doing.

You have not space for a recitation of all the cases of unjust imprisonment, excessive sentences, racial discrimination and other infringements of elementary civil liberties which we have handled in the past, but we would be glad to supply any of your readers who may be willing to support us with such information.

We need five hundred regular subscribers at a guinea a year: even more urgently we need the lump sum already mentioned (£250) to enable us to pay our debts and keep our office open.

Subscriptions should be sent to—The Treasurer, Freedom Defence Committee, 8, Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.1.

HERBERT READ, Chairman.  
GEO. ORWELL, Vice-Chairman.  
GEORGE WOODCOCK, Secretary.  
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8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1.

## On the air tonight

Annabel Farjeon, a PPU member, is broadcasting in the Home Service tonight (Friday) at 6.45. She is to discuss some recent books on ballet. Now on the staff of Time and Tide, Miss Farjeon is a novelist and former Sadler's Wells ballet dancer.

## Words of Peace - No. 205

## LOVE'S PART

"Love will ever play a great part in human life; to the end of time it will be an immense element in its happiness, perhaps a still greater one in its sorrows, its disasters, its tragedies."

—Spenser.

## PUBLIC DEBATE

The Socialist Party of Gt. Britain versus

The Conservative Party  
ISLINGTON TOWN HALL,  
UPPER ST., N.1.

Wednesday, February 12th  
7.30 p.m.

For the Conservative Party—  
TOM HOWARD (Prospective Conservative Candidate for South Islington).  
For the S.P. of G.B.—  
TONY TURNER.  
Admission Free

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Reception Committee  
Young People from Occupied  
Countries

Friday, Feb. 14, at 7.30

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London International Orchestra  
Conductor: Fiontouri  
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5s., 3s. 6d., 2s. 6d.  
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Chappell's, 50, New Bond St. W.1.  
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An international association for the promotion and extension of a Christianly Scientific peace, the members of which refrain from participation in war. This association functions as a private enterprise and not as an agency of the Christian Science Church.

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